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ABSTRACT

This paper provides an historical record of the folk high school as a liberal educational philosophy since the mid-nineteenth century. The social and political setting in which the Danish folk high school began, along with a biographical sketch of its founder, N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783-1872), are reviewed within the first eight pages. The folk high school in Denmark is reviewed in terms of basic characteristics, the residential collective adult education concept, course scheduling, instructor qualifications, administration, and financing. A description of the Skaelskoer folk high school is presented and includes statistical data, aims and objectives, financial and recruitment aspects, course length and descriptions, teaching methods and techniques, function and education of teachers, intended and unintended effects, and fundamental risks. Then descriptions of the folk high school programs in Norway, Sweden, and Finland are presented. Included in the 5-page section on impact are the following: participation figures; similarities and differences among folk high schools in Nordic countries; and a brief overview of folk high schools in England and Scotland, continental Europe, North America, Asia, and Africa. The paper concludes with considerations of the future of the folk high school. (BPB)

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THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOL: DENMARK'S CONTRIBUTION TO ADULT EDUCATION

Charles G. Orsak, Jr.

Corsicana, Texas

November 1981

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ABSTRACT

THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOL:
DENMARK'S CONTRIBUTION TO ADULT EDUCATION

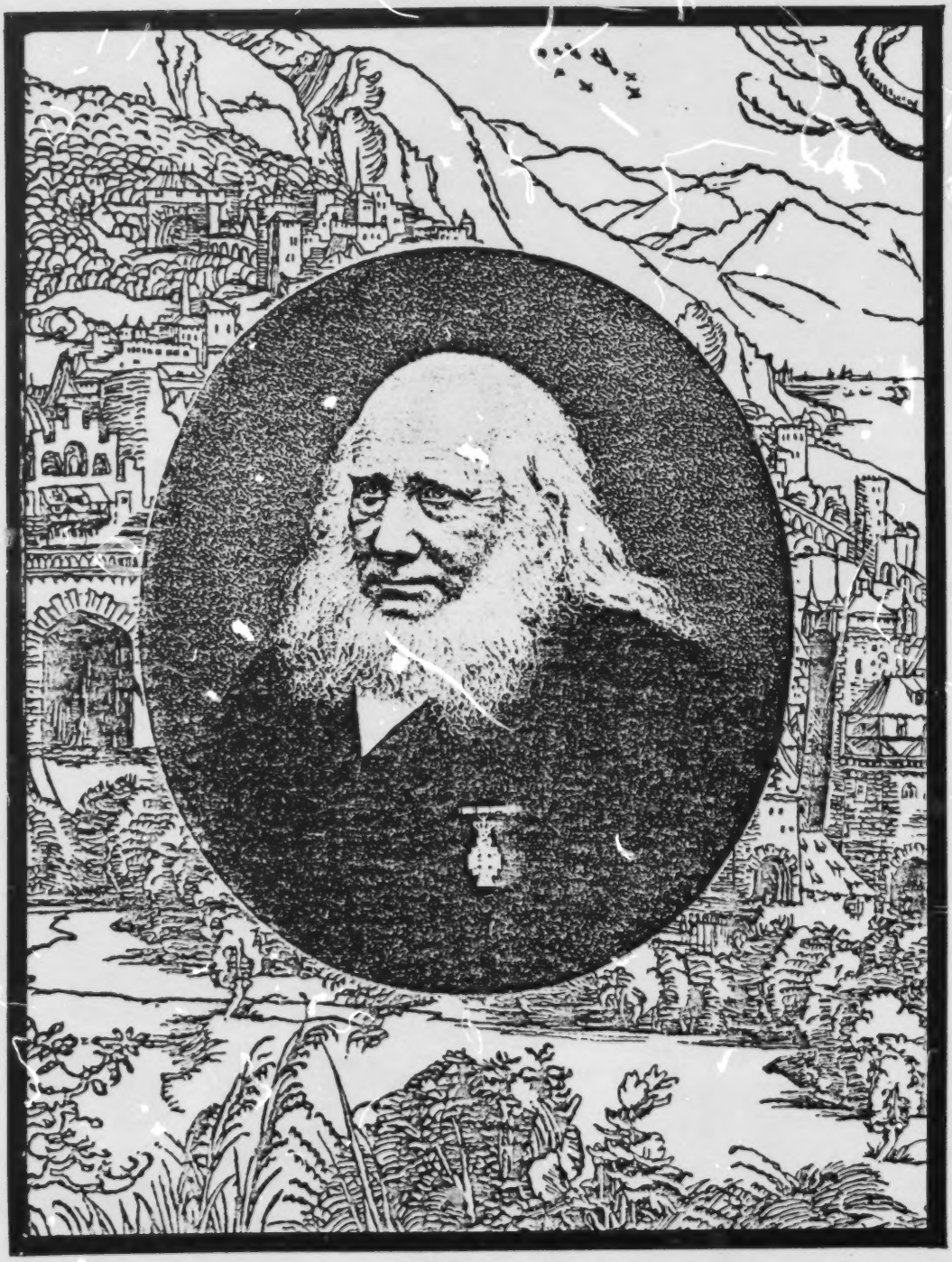
Charles G. Orsak, Jr.

Adult education throughout the world owes a great deal to N.S.F. Grundtvig, the Danish poet, preacher, historian, and educator who inspired the founding of the Danish folk high school. The concept was first begun as a counter-culture movement against the formal educational system of the mid-nineteenth century. The folk high school represented the living interaction between students and teachers by conceiving the idea of residential school for adults as an alternative to formal education.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Denmark had experienced the humiliation of defeat by Bismarck and had lost two of its strong land holdings: Slesvig and Holstein. It had fallen from a great power during the Middle Ages, had experienced repression through royal absolutism for two hundred years, had lost wars with Sweden and England, had been ruined by its alliance with France, and had lost Norway and had now relinquished two other duchies which it had held for over four hundred years.

Grundtvig pulled Denmark out of this dispair renewing pride in the country, language, and culture of the common Danish people. One of the vehicles he used was the folk high school "a school for adults. . .with programs of study closely related to their needs through a cultural curriculum rather than one narrowly practical and vocational".

This paper illustrates the social and political setting in which the Danish folk high school movement began, discusses the animated personalities and philosophies of the movement, traces its influence on other countries--particularly Scandinavian countries,--and points out changes and evolutions throughout the years. It attempts to evaluate the success and future of the folk high school and discuss its possible adaptation to other countries.



NIKOLAI FREDERIK SEVERIN GRUNDTVIG
1783-1872

Founder of the Danish Folk High School Movement

iv

THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOL:
DENMARK'S CONTRIBUTION TO ADULT EDUCATION

'What sunshine is to the darkened mould
So's ken to its kin, ardent to grow.
Far more needful than the lustrious gold
'Tis one's God and one'self to know.'

--N.F.S. Grundtvig

- -

One of the most successful and enlightening contributions made in adult education has been the Scandinavian concept of the folk high school. This was a popular movement among the people in Denmark in the mid-nineteenth century. More than a movement, the Danish folk high school is an educational philosophy of liberal education for adults. It has been adopted by other countries and has served many peoples throughout the world. As a philosophy, it offers many lessons for emerging countries of the twentieth century.

Begun in Denmark, the folk high school was established as an alternative to traditional Latin and Greek schools. Formally defined, a folk high school is:

> a school for adults. . .for townspeople and rural groups, aimed at improving the economic and cultural conditions of these people, with programs of study closely related to their needs through a cultural curriculum rather than one narrowly practical and vocational. (Good, 1973:281)

The concept has historical precedence and has political reasons for origin. Its influence on other Scandinavian countries--and the world--has been profound.

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate the social and political setting in which the Danish folk high school movement began, to discuss the animated personalities and philosophies of the movement, to trace its influence on other countries--particularly Scandinavian countries,-- and to point out changes and evolutions throughout the years. The paper will attempt to evaluate the success and future of the folk high school and to discuss its possible adaptation to other countries.

THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT OF DENMARK

Denmark's early history through the Vikings in the eleventh century represents one of the most romantic periods in Western European history. Denmark covered a land area which included Norway and much of Northern Germany. Its lifestyle was simple, rural, agrarian, and its temperament was peaceful and pleasant. This trend, however, soured for the Danes in the mid-seventeenth century and continued through a series of unfortunate incidents into the early twentieth century. These events left the people humiliated, devastated, and without any sense of national worth.

From 1660 to 1849, Denmark was ruled by monarchs under the Regal Law *(Kongeloven)*, which has been called the most "unequivocal formal delineation of absolutism found in the annals of mankind." (Shirer, 1955) The communal organization of the peasant class was strick with no chance of breaking it. To even suggest a change in the Regal Law was considered treason, and the law itself forbade any amendments to it.

Denmark engaged in a series of wars with Sweden in the ever-irritating controversy over the ownership of two prominent territories: Slesvig and Holstein. In the late eighteenth century, Denmark lost them to Sweden which further set back the country. Even though they lost, Denmark renewed its standing among the great nations with its naval fleet.

The opening years of the nineteenth century continued to chip away at the national pride of this small country. The French Revolution had just taken place which shook the European continent from one end to the other. Denmark was precariously sandwiched between two powerful world forces: England and France. This position and Denmark's ensuing alliances proved to be her downfall.

In 1801 Denmark's fleet was challenged off Copenhagen by England's Lord Nelson and was defeated in a fierce five-hour battle. Though defeated, Denmark took pride in its valiant struggle, and even Nelson showed respect for the spirited Danes by calling them "the brothers of Englishmen." (Campbell, 1928) Denmark then joined the Armed League of Neutrality in hopes that the rivalries between England and France would somehow avoid Denmark. She was not so fortunate.

In 1807 Denmark refused to accept England's dictates in her fight with France. As retribution, England pounced upon Copenhagen with its naval forces, bombarded the city,

reduced it to ruins, and seized the Danish fleet. King Frederick VI then made a catastrophic error in judgment: he sided his allegiance with Napolean taking with him no more strength than a small, puny land army. Denmark's voice was literally lost among the vicious roar of a continent distraught with fear and hate. By 1813 Denmark was totally bankrupt. In 1814 the Allied coalition against Napolean forced Denmark to cede Norway to Sweden, land it had had for over four hundred, fifty years.

The period between 1814 and 1830 is often described by historians as Denmark's "Darkest Period": the nation was bankrupt, the fleet defeated, the army beaten and disorganized, and the national territory more than halved by the loss of Norway. Agriculture, the mainstay of the Danish economy, was paralyzed by the loss of England and Norway as markets for its goods.

Over the next half century, Denmark tried gradually to pull itself out of this despair. In 1814 the Education Act brought compulsory schooling for all children from six to fourteen, which was the first time the peasant masses had been addressed for betterment of condition. This was to have a revolutionary impact on the future of Denmark. The July Revolution of 1830 in France induced King Frederick VI in 1834 to grant consultative provincial assemblies--the first breach in royal absolutism which had long held back Denmark. The revolutionary fervor which swept Europe in 1848, forced King Frederick VII to grant a free Constitution in 1849, giving Denmark a parliamentary form of government based on democracy for all the people and ending the royal absolutism which had lasted nearly two centuries.

This movement was a landmark and lead to the prosperity of the farmer and new-found business, trade, and shipping. Denmark felt it was rising from the depths of hard luck and repression. Its comeback did not last long, however. The question of Slesvig and Holstein which had plagued Denmark for so long was still unsettled. These two duchies belonged to the Danish kingdom, though Holstein was also a member of the German Confederation, and except for North Slesvig, the population was predominantly German.

In 1848 the two duchies revolted against Danish rule and were aided by Prussia until the great powers obliged the German state to withdraw. The Danes, for time being, triumphed over this two-year hard battle. In 1864, however, the final blow was struck against Denmark, and the question of Slesvig and Holstein was settle once and for all.

Bismarck of Prussia persuaded Austria to join him, and together their overwhelming strength proved too much for the valiant, stubborn, strong Danes. They were soon defeated. By ceding both of these duchies, Denmark lost two-fifths of its land holdings and a million inhabitants, 200,000 of whom were Danes concentrated mostly in North Slesvig. Prussia promised that a plebiscite would be held to determine the fate of North Slesvig, but it was not until 1920 and the Treaty of Versailles that Denmark was finally given the opportunity for this plebiscite.

The defeat of 1864 and the loss of Slesvig and Holstein appeared to doom Denmark to utter oblivion. There was an intense feeling of national humiliation and despair. Denmark and the Danish--what was left--had fallen from a great power during the Middle Ages, had experienced repression through royal absolutism for over two hundred years, had lost wars with Sweden and England, and had been ruined by their alliance with France, had lost Norway, and had now relinquished two other duchies which they had held for over four hundred years.

Often, however, out of the depths of despair come clear thought and positive direction. This is what happened to Denmark. Marius Sörenson describes this time in Denmark's history in a speech in 1923:

> . . .A people politically and economically ruined is not a people destroyed. Sometimes when one is lowest in the dust he sees the stars most clearly, and from this time of depression when it almost seemed as if her page of history were written began Denmark's growth to her present condition. She looked backward to what she had been and forward, not to political power, not to conquest through war, but to a fuller national life which in its development has had something to teach the great nations. (Campbell, 1918)

Almost miraculously, there came a source of inner strength, a resurgence of national pride. This feeling was lead by the creative genius of Lutheran Bishop Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig, the spiritual founder of modern Denmark--and indirectly for all of Scandinavia--whose motto became "outward loss, inward gain." (Kulich, 1964)

N.S.F. GRUNDTVIG

Grundtvig was a poet, preacher, historian, philosopher, educator, hymnist, and statesman who inspired the founding of the Danish folk high school, and who helped transform not

only Denmark but also the Scandinavian countries into one of the most literate and enlightened groups of societies on earth.

> All Danes have met the effects of Grundtvig's life-struggle in our people, consciously or unconsciously. Numbers of people feel that his name is attached to the strongest impressions of their childhood, youth and maturity. Farthest back they are reminded of Grundtvig as the author of Christmas hymns and of songs that related the whole of the Bible history and the history of Denmark. These songs and hymns brought their minds in harmony with the Danish community and its spirit. And later, in youth, they perhaps received from him the watchword that focussed the struggling force of their spiritual cravings, and filled their sails, enabling them with good cheer to set out on 'the ocean of thought, faith, and knowledge' where the powers, as he sang, 'compete for rank', where there shall be 'freedom for all that has its source in the spirit', and where, therefore, 'the living word' finds the only field of action where it is worthy.
>
> And finally, it was perhaps not until they had reached maturity that, by his help, they rightly understood what reality is: that spirit is reality; that the world of the spirit is the true world of reality,--and that therefore only spirit is power.' --Thomas Bredsdorf (Manniche, 1939:74)

Born in 1783, he lived to be eighty-nine years old, through some of the most critical times in Danish history. Grundtvig's influence on all aspects of reawakening pride and national consciousness cannot be overrated.

His influence on education came in the 1830's. When King Frederik VI allowed Denmark's farmers and peasants to be represented in the Consultative Assembly, it was quite evident that these classes of Danes were not prepared to assume participatory roles in modern Danish life. This disturbed Grundtvig because he had an undying belief in the common man and his abilities. He realized, however, that they must be educated. He stated,

> Only barbarians and tyrants can imagine that this root and kernel of the people--tenants and freeholders, large farmers and small ones,

> workers of all kinds, sailors and tradesmen--does not need any more enlightenment than can be obtained behind the plow, in the workshop, on the boat and behind the counter.
> (Shirer, 1955)

Measures had been taken earlier to educate the common man. The 1814 Folkschools Law instructed teachers in rural schools to conduct evening classes twice a week for youngsters over the school-leaving age, but it was not effective. The students had no respect for formal education, and the teachers were not eager to set up these classes against these odds. By 1848 only nine percent of all rural schools had established these evening classes for youths, and only a small portion of the population had participated. Most of these schools were based on theoretical reasoning of the traditional Latin and Greek schools which really did not speak to the farmers and rural workers.

Grundtvig's concept was to speak directly to the people. To him enlightenment did not mean the accumulation of bookish knowledge. Instead, it meant an understanding of real life--an understanding by the individual of himself or herself and his/her conditions of life. He or she needed to be taught to cope with life and lifestyles, to learn and appreciate the Danish culture. He set out to explore this concept for his countrymen.

In 1830 Grundtvig made a trip to Britain to visit the universities of higher learning in Oxford and Cambridge which had received rave reviews from educational critics. He saw these institutions training only officials of the church and state--the priviledged class. They were not developing the total man as he felt should be done. A person is "First a man, next a Christian," he is often quoted as saying. (Thomsen, 1967) Grundtvig's anthology about man can be summed up in one of his most famous quotations:

> Man is not a monkey, destined to ape first the other animals and then himself until the end of time. No, he is a unique, wonderful creature in whom divine power shall proclaim, develop, and manifest itself through a thousand generations, as a divine experiment revealing how spirit and dust can penetrate each other and be glorified in a unified divine consciousness. (Jacobsen, 1980)

The school, then, which Grundtvig envisioned was an alternative to the formal schools of the day. He liked the

idea of residence, as he observed in Britain, where teacher and student lived together in a total learning environment. Therefore, the school he proposed for his countrymen, especially the rural population, was the Folk High School.

The folk high school, based on Grundtvig's philosophy, was a school which represented "the living interaction" between participants and teachers. The first central concept of this philosophy was based on the "living word", i.e., the spoken, liberating, personal words of the mother tongue. The aim of such education was not to "mould the masses" into predefined shapes, but to challenge and assist people--men and women--to group their own identity and look after their own affairs and interests. (Jacobsen, 1980) Instead of the Latin school, which he called "the school of death", he proposed a "school of life" with no fixed syllabi or examinations, where current aspects of individual and national life would be discussed, and where the language of the people would be used. In a famous passage, Grundtvig wrote:

> The school for death is known by everyone in this country. Such a school is any school which begins with letters and ends up with bookish knowledge; and consequently all that throughout the centuries was previously called a school and all that is called so today. For dead are all letters, even if written by the fingers of angels, and dead is all knowledge that does not find response in the life of the reader. (Thomsen, 1967)

The second central concept of Grundtvig's philosophy was that the education should foster and further the culture which all people share- *folkelig* culture. *Folkelig* is a Danish word that defies all attempts at translation, but encompasses both the folk tradition developed through the centuries and a feeling of being part of this tradition. It is not narrow-minded nationalism but rather a full realization of the national cultural heritage as a part of the old Norse heritage, and also a part of the cultural heritage of mankind. It is easy to distinguish between the influence of German Romanticism and the practical influence of the Danish struggle with the overwhelming German cultural domination in Slesvig. (Kulich, 1964)

These words appealed to the common man because they spoke to him directly in terms he understood. Thus, the concept of the fok high school was born. This philosophy permeates the folk high school in whatever country it exists, even though the specific configuration or sponsoring agency

might differ from setting to setting. As Grundtvig himself stated, the sole purpose of the folk high school is "to rouse, to nourish and to enlighten the human life, which one dare and must assume is in Danish youth." (Thomsen, 1967)

Grundtvig was ahead of most in his thinking. His legacy, the folk high school (*folkehøjskole*), is "Steiner without mystique, Neill for adults, Montessori without goal oriented praxis and even more: a poetic pedagogy where man, knowledge and convictions are synonymous with you and me." (Søe, 1974)

THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOL IN DENMARK

Grundtvig did not himself establish an educational institution but is credited for the theoretical basis of the concept. The first folk high school based on Grundtvigian ideas was established in 1844 in Rødding, South Jutland to combat the influence of the German-speaking upper class. (Kulich, 1964) The next folk high school was equally closely tied to the peasant class and was founded in 1848 at Uldum. The figure credited with transforming Grundtvig's vision into practice is Kristen Kold (1816-70). Kold regarded himself as a student of Grundtvig and established his first folk high school in Ryslinge on Funen in 1851. Later he moved this school to Dalby, and finally in 1862, to Dalum, where he lived until his death.

Grundtvig's key term for his educational concept was "enlightenment"; Kold's term was "awakening". "I must enliven my students before I can enlighten them," he said. (Thomsen, 1967) Thus, the process of education and the enthusiasm for learning--the awakening of a spiritual life which would last a lifetime--became more important than actually departing knowledge. Kold explained this concept to a young peasant by pulling out his pocket watch and winding it, saying, "This is how I want to wind men spiritually, so that they never come to a standstill again." (Thomsen, 1967).

Other personalities prominent in the Danish folk high school movement were Ludvig Schrøder, principal of the Askov Folk High School; Ernst Trier of Vallekilde; Jens Nörregaard of Testrup; and Frede Bojsen of Rödkilde, Möen. The soil was so fertile for these early educators to plow that their students often imitated them. The students had been little influenced by anyone outside their homes. They were impressionable and eager to learn, and unknowingly began to copy those whom they admired and in whom they had gained confidence. (Lausen, 1951)

The folk high schools played an important role in the effort to build up cultural, social, political, and economic resources of the country, especially among the peasantry after the 1864 Prusso-Danish War. Between 1864 and 1870, twenty-six new folk high schools in Denmark were established. These can be considered the years when the folk high school concept took hold in Danish life. Before 1864 attendence in all schools never exceeded 500 students, but by 1864 enrollment was more than 2000. This dramatic expansion can be understood if it is realized that the folk high school was not only a reaction against the state schools, but that it became identified with four other Danish movements: 1) religious revival and reform, 2) revitalization and revival of nationalism, 3) reawakening and resurgence of peasant participation in national affairs, and 4) the producer-cooperatives and the change-over from grain to dairy production. (Canfield, 1965)

By 1880 there were sixty-four schools in Denmark, and by 1900 the number had reached seventy-four. By 1911 the number had risen to seventy-nine schools. Since then the number of Danish folk high schools has fluctuated between a low of fifty-five schools in 1940, to the present number of approximately eighty-three schools. (Adult Education in the Nordic Countries: Denmark, 1975). The enrollment has risen from 190 students in 1854-55 to 7000 in 1920-21, has dropped to a low of 4736 in 1945-46, and has risen to approximately 9000 today. (Søe, 1974) This number represents a major portion of the 560,000 annual voluntary education attendees in this small country which has a population of 5,000,000. (Baunsbak-Jensen, 1979)

By the turn of the century, the Danish folk high schools had managed to transform the largely backward peasantry into a progressive farming middle class--all within two generations! No other country using the folk high school approach has achieved similar striking results. (Kulich, 1964)

One of the most glowing examples of success for the folk high school in Denmark came in 1920 with the plebiscite in North Slesvig made possible by the Treaty of Versailles. As previously discussed, Germany gained control of this region in 1864. The majority of the population, however, was Danish. From 1865 to 1885, the emigration from North Slesvig to Denmark was phenominal. The normal increase in population fell from 40,000 to 7,000. (Begtrup, 1926) North Slesvig was suffering for young men. Many of the families sent their young adults back to Denmark after completing school so that they could attend folk high schools

and learn the Danish langauge and culture. The growing influence of the Danish language and culture concerned the German rulers of the region. In 1888 speaking Danish was forbidden as an attempt to curb the situation. Private schools and Danish folk high schools were forbidden, and parents were not allowed to send their children over the frontier to the Danish schools so long as the youngsters were of the legal school age.

As an alternative, a number of *efterskoler* or continuation schools were established in North Slesvig for youngsters once they completed the German schools and became of legal school-leaving age. A very large number of children fourteen to sixteen years of age attended these schools for six months or more in order to receive instruction in the Danish language and history. Ironically, these schools were established by old folk high school students, most of whom were former residents of Slesvig. This arrangement was not enough. In 1892 a union was formed to help young Slesvig people cross the border into Denmark to attend folk high schools. The Germans adopted more rigid measures after the turn of the century, but the movement was too well organized and had been too successful for too long a period. A German citizen of North Slesvig, speaking prior to World War I, testified to the strong influence of the Danish folk high schools.

> Our youth leave the Danish high schools and return home with the unshakeable conviction that they obey the German authority only because it has the power, and not because they feel a sense of moral obligation towards their foreign rulers. . . . A general judgment of this educational activity must be in its favour. . . . Grundtvigianism lives as a fundamental religious attitude in the hearts of thousands, especially in the hearts of the young. (Begtrup, 1926)

Between the years 1892 and 1914, over 6000 students were helped in attending folk high schools by the School Union. The significance of this period is further expressed by the man who served as treasurer of the School Union during those years.

> It would not be easy to exaggerate the importance of the fruitful influence from the mother land that the thousands of young people from Slesvig thus gained. It was an influence which permeated our public life. Practically all who, during the long and difficult years of foreign rule, took a prominent part in national work, received

much of their inspiration from the Danish folk high schools. (Begtrup, 1926)

As further illustrations, the representatives of North Slesvig in Berlin during the years prior to World War I were former folk high school students, as was an editor who was a member of the Reichstag and two farmers who were members of the Prussian Diet. In 1919 when North Slesvig sent a delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, the four delegates chosen had all attended the ordinary folk high school and the extended courses at Askov. And when the plebescite promised by Napolean in 1864 was finally held in North Slesvig in 1920, as a result of the Treaty of Versailles, three-fourths of the votes returned North Slesvig to Denmark. The Danish folk high school had tasted its sweetest victory!

BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DANISH FOLK HIGH SCHOOL

Folk high schools do not maintain a rigid standard. Even though they differ internally from one another--and from one country to the other--they all have certain features in common. All folk high schools are based on the three classic ideas of Grundtvig:

1) Youth, not childhood, is the proper time for education.
2) The living word (of the native tongue) as opposed to book language is the best vehicle of education.
3) Conditions in the native country are to be the main topic of instruction, and the poetry and history of the Nordic countries are to be the most important means of arousal, with popular Danish culture providing an alternative to the German-classical. (Jacobsen, 1980)

Folk high schools offer an alternative to traditional education, and "to a greater or lesser extent keep their distance from the rest of the education systems". (Jacobsen, 1980) In Denmark, folk high schools traditionally and presently are begun by a local community initiative, religious or labor organization, or individual, like Kold, who wish to begin their own institution. They are free from control of the government educational authorities and local boards of education. The student bodies and faculty are deliberately small in number to cut down on the expenditures for facilities and operations. (Canfield, 1965)

All folk high schools in Denmark are residential with the collective experiences of the participants and teachers

the bases for discussions and debates. There are no examinations, reports, or competency-based testing, and the schools do not confer formal qualifications. Instruction takes place through various techniques: study circles, discussions, lectures, self-study, project work, and excursions. Certain subjects are compulsory, such as history, Danish, and literature. Beyond this the students are free to choose the topics and subjects which interest them most. Different students can have different timetables, both in terms of content and weekly periods met. Most students meet twenty-five to thirty periods per week.

The majority of courses begin in January, May, August, September, and November and continue for four or five months. Historically, the terms were set up for students eighteen to thirty years old and were meant to coincide with farming duties, i.e., from plowing season (the end of October) until spring work season (the end of April) for boys, and the summer months for girls. All activities of the folk high school are shared among the participants, and the entire environment resembles a self-contained commune.

After World War II, the temper of folk high schools in Denmark changed somewhat. One of the criticisms of the movement from the viewpoint of a citizen in the twentieth century industrialized nation is that the close attachment of the folk high school in the early days to the farming community made it difficult to reach wider circles. This began to change in the first half of this century when schools were established to attract young urban workers. Since World War II the folk high schools have recruited their students increasingly from all social groups. (Baunsbak-Jensen, 1979) Other subjects have been introduced since that time to include social sciences. Some schools have been established to cater to specialized needs, such as sports, athletics, music, drama, and art. More emphasis has been placed on social problems, problems of working life, special international topics, political issues, and problem solving and coping techniques. This new development was due to the experiment at Krogerup Folk High School begun in 1946 through the cooperation of nearly all Danish youth organizations, including the various political associations. Here Professor Hal Koch (1904-63) brought a renewal of the folk high school idea that has been of crucial significance to its present status in Denmark, i.e., "purpose-oriented" and "problem-solving". (Baunsbak-Jensen, 1979)

Instructors are not required to hold a degree. Their major qualification is to have "real, rather than formal qualifications". (*U90 Plan*, 1975) They should be able to relate to adults not only as an instructor of knowledge,

but also as a facilitator to learning. Between 1920 and 1940, the number of university educated instructors doubled in the folk high schools. Today, though it is not required, it is of great value.

The folk high schools are private, self-governing institutions but receive a state subsidy of eighty-five percent towards teachers's salaries, buildings, educational material, and other essential operating costs. In 1974, it cost students about Dkr 1000 ($160) per month to attend a folk high school. This included tuition, room and board. Books and materials ran approximately Dkr 100 to Dkr 200 ($15-$30) depending on the length of the course. Students can obtain state grants for up to eighty percent of their costs depending on need. Folk high schools generally are expensive to operate because of the high degree of involvement created by students being in residence.

As an attempt to summarize the characteristics of the Danish folk high school, and to illustrate the structure and program of a typical folk high school, consider the winter term of an average mainstream Danish folk high school, such as Skaelskoer. (Jacobsen, 1980)

SKAELSKOER FOLK HIGH SCHOOL

STATISTICAL DATA:
- Built: 1973.
- Organization: Non-profit private institution.
- Capacity: 95 students.
- Facilities: 7 classrooms plus lecture hall and workshop facilities (drama and crafts).
- Staff: 11 full-time including library and audio-visual aids.
- Programme: 33 weeks' winter course; approximately 10 weeks' short courses; and approximately 7 weeks' rental to organizations for educational purposes.
- Local activities: regular monthly folk music festivals; lecture and discussion meetings at irregular intervals; large political meetings in connection with e.g. elections to local councils and parliament.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES:
- 'To be a good Danish Folk High School' (quotation from statues).
- Democracy, personal growth and awareness, self-confidence (programme).

FINANCING AND RECRUITMENT:
Buildings: Government and Credit Union loans.
Running costs: State--about 80% of educational expenses; students--20% of educational expenses plus cost of living. Students receive individual grants from State or local government, depending on personal income.
General estimate: about 70% of total school budget is derived from public sources.
Budget 1977: about 3.5 million Dkr. [$400,000].
Recruitment: open to all citizens aged 18 or more.
Average age 1977: 27 years.
Sex distribution of students: 55% female, 45% male.

COURSE LENGTH, STRUCTURE, AND CONTENT: slightly complicated.
Course start: 1 October, 1 January, 1 February.
Course conclusion: 31 January, 31 May.
Possible course length: 33 weeks, 21 weeks, 17 weeks.
Structure: one of 5 basic main subject matter areas (to be chosen for a period of a) 12, b) 4, c) 8, or d) 9 weeks).
1. Civics.
2. Psychology and Education.
3. Popular Culture.
4. Ceramics, Textiles and Art.
5. General Updating for Adults.
These 5 basic streams cover morning sessions and are supplemented with elective subjects inside the field of liberal arts and civics.
One common lecture per week (compulsory).
School assembly once a week (compulsory).
Evening arrangements.

TEACHING METHODS AND TECHNIQUES:
Basically: group work and individual studies, in the latter part of the

course organized as projects including work in the field and, if possible, research.

Examples of projects:

Study of listening and viewing habits in the region for Radio Denmark.

Collection of folk songs and folk tales from the region.

Registration of tapes:

Registration, description and mapping of total number of cultural activities in the community (20,000 people) over a two month winter period.

Study of ecological conditions in the fjord area.

FUNCTION AND EDUCATION OF TEACHERS:

Basically the function is that of an animator and resource person.

Also, of a tutor and instructor, depending on the subject matter and the group of students.

Extended social function as organizer of social events, drama, music evenings, and personal advisor.

Educational background in formal education varies from secondary school examination to university degree.

Informal qualifications are basically:

sense of purpose,
integrity,
democratic belief and attitude, and
deep knowledge of at least one field.

INTENDED EFFECTS:

A group of students--and generally the oldest among them--experience a feeling of improved ability to cope with elementary problems as reading, writing, and arithmetic. Others achieve the ability of adult, self-propelled study as opposed to routine work of the school system. General effect of being under the same roof for a length of time is: greater tolerance and ability to co-operate responsibly.

UNINTENDED EFFECTS:

Include the acquisition of specialized knowledge in one field or the other--

which is useful, but less important than the very habit of learning. Other unintended effects include unhappy personal relations with other members of the group or the risk of getting involved in drinking or drugs which may be present in spite of staff and student efforts.

FUNDAMENTAL RISK:
That superficial knowledge of a subject is confused with serious study.

GENERAL COMMENT:
Each new course is a social experiment, and the clash of cultures and intentions is often impressive.

Today there is a lively debate raging in Danish folk high school circles on the question of their present-day position in the framework of education as a whole. This has been sparked partly by the fact that during the 1960's, folk high schools underwent certain re-adjustments necessitated by changes in social structure and developments in the education system. Among these were: 1) the concept of a twelve-year basic education for everyone, and 2) the initiation of the youth folk high schools for ages fourteen to eighteen. This has questioned for some people the need for adult folk high schools whose minimum age requirement for enrollment is seventeen and a half.

Currently, with the creation of the youth folk high school has been the creation of four pensioners folk high schools. These have been established by the initiative of the Pensioner's Association and with subsidies from the local authorities. These pensioner's folk high schools offer courses one to two weeks long, and are attended by about 20,000 retired persons annually.

A third new development in folk high schools which threatens the original concept is the development of the family folk high school, based on the joint participation of parents (or parent) and children. This form has been developing for several years as a short summer course, but now is appearing in an extended form in certain schools.

Regardless of the present changes in the Danish folk high school, its continuation has been recognized as a necessary permanent alternative to formal education. In May 1975, Bitt Bjenegaard, the Minister of Education, asked the Central Council for Education in Denmark to prepare a plan

for the entire education system through 1990. This has become known as the U90 Plan, which stands for *Uddannelse* (Education) *1990*. The Education Council for Youth and Adult Education prepared a segment of the report, which is briefly recounted below. In reading the recommendations and findings, listen to how closely allied the points are with the original principles of the folk high school movement. Plan U90 does not advocate placing adult education within the structure of formal Danish education. It reemphasizes the importance of adult education as an alternative, and it views the government's role as supporting the concept through financial grants to schools and participants. Content, course length, class size, etc. are all to be left to the flexibility of the schools and participants.

In the words of the Central Council of Education (CCE), the aim and guiding principles of youth and adult education is "to fill out holes and deficiencies in the present system as well as to supplement and develop new offers in the fields where it is deemed to be required". It is the opinion of the Council that the best way of ensuring this expansion is

> . . . .that the central authorities continue to support and ensure a flexible, decentralized system with a high degree of freedom in relation to initiators in the field as well as to the participants' co-determination of content and method. . . .In other words, the youth and adult education is not an integrated extension of the formal educational systems, but a constructive alternative or supplement thereto. . . .The adult's life situation determines the content of the adult education. . . .A consequence of this must be that adult education takes place on the adults' 'own premises'. If this is done, the discussion of so-called 'useful' and 'unuseful' adult education must come to an end. For then useful adult education becomes the education which the participant finds valuable for his own situation. . . .Altogether it should be pointed out that adults' premises of participation in education are to a high degree created by the society. Negative experience--possibly combined with doubts about capabilities and strength to 'begin from scratch', and of the use thereof--often underlie the attitudes of many people to the opinions of education. . . .Control by participants in the adult education entails

> that the participants themselves must contribute towards settling the aim for the adult education, have an influence on the planning, on selection of teaching material and have a decisive say when the yield of the work is to be evaluated. . . .The necessary educational experience and knowledge must be present, but it is just as important that the teachers and leaders also in future maintain a solid footing in the functions of work and the everyday life from where the participants come.

The Council further explains why these recommendations for support--and not control of--adult education are made.

> A human being is a social being that develops in an interplay between the given aptitudes and the influence from the surrounding world. . . .Therefore it is important to see a human being and his surrounding world together. Experience shows that there are clear connections between the individual and the society, between the body and the consciousness, between work and leisure-time. If they are separated from each other, and if the historical and cultural connections are forgotten, the result will be a too narrow picture of the human being, and the education or policy it is intended to initiate will come to a bad end. For the sake of clarity these connections may be grouped under four main points.
>
> 1) The intimate human relation. This concerns family, social relations and friendship. . . .
>
> 2) The working life. The production forms in the industrial development make heavy demands on those who are to do the work. . . .
>
> 3) Social relations. Outside the intimate human groupings and life at the place of work there are numerous political, social and cultural connections. . . .
>
> 4) To be oneself. At the same time as life is lived in a number of human and social relations each individual person maintains an idea of having an identity differing from all the others. . . .

Youth and adult education must be seen in connection with the rest of the educational system and with the many activities in the society influencing the development of people. The youth and adult education has within this interplay proved to be particularly appropriate for:

1) abolishing imbalances left by the primary educational system, partly by giving new offers of education, partly by creating new possibilities for activities across existing educational differences,

2) breaking down cultural barriers, bridging educational cleavages and increasing the understanding between people from different social and cultural groups,

3) stimulating the individual to a permanent involvement in lifelong education,

4) meeting sudden educational and activity needs of groups and individuals,

5) establishing and acknowledging real competence as having the same value as formal qualifications,

6) giving people opportunities for development by helping them to begin practical activities which they themselves control or on which they have a considerable influence,

7) developing wish, capability and courage to participate in decisions, to take their share in the responsibility and thus counter the tendencies of decisions being imposed from the top,

8) creating social environments which may stimulate people to develop communities in as well as outside their jobs,

9) strengthening the national, popular educational and cultural movements and giving their work a broad content.

These nine conditions not only apply to adult education in Denmark, they also reflect the basic premises for folk high schools in other countries.

THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOL IN NORWAY

Like Denmark, Norway was faced with the same need to preserve its folk culture and its own language--*Landsmaal*. Norway's history was too rich and its people too proud for it to be lost. It had been united into one nation since the end of the ninth century by the Viking King Harald, the Fair-Hair. During the next centuries Norwegian Vikings explored the world, establishing settlements throughout the North Sea's bordering lands, and made commercial and military adventures to even more distant countries. Leiv Eiriksson is credited with being the first European to land in North America at Newfoundland on October 9, 1000.

Following the expansion of the Viking age, Norway suffered a sharp decline in population due to the Black Death which ravaged the European continent in the mid-fourteenth century. Toward the end of that century, Norway became part of a political union with Denmark, an act which began a long period of Norway's loss of its national independence.

In 1814 Denmark was on the losing side of the Napoleonic Wars, as previously discussed, and was forced to cede Norway to Sweden. The Norwegians, however, were wise and seized the opportunity to assert their right to self-determination. On May 17, 1814, they adopted their own democratic constitution, and only then accepted a union with Sweden as a self-ruling partner under a common king.

The union between Norway and Sweden was dissolved peacefully in 1905, and Norway resumed life as a fully independent nation. The Norwegians then began their long uphill struggle to build a prosperous, proud society under unfavorable geographic, topographic, and climatic conditions. Learning from Denmark, Norway adopted the folk high school concept in the mid-nineteenth century in an attempt to achieve this goal.

Nearly half the folk high schools in Norway were begun by Christian denominations and organizations, while others were predominantly Grundtvigian. The Grundtvigian tradition can be traced directly to the work of Christopher Brunn, a Norwegian clergyman who lived from 1839 to 1920, and played the same role in Norway as Kold played in Denmark. He is credited with founding Vonheim Folk High School in 1864, the first Grundtvigian school in Norway. (Jacobsen, 1980)

Though the Norwegian and Danish folk high school

movements have many similarities, especially in the Norwegian struggle to preserve its folk culture, there are some marked differences. In the mid-nineteenth century, Norway was predominantly a fishing and lumbering country instead of a major agricultural nation. The Norwegian population was more scattered and isolated into small settlements separated by mountains and fjords. This posed greater obstacles to the development of the Norwegian movement than in Denmark. Additionally, the conservative Norwegian government restrained its movement by adverse policy. Soon the movement was further weakened by an internal split into three folk high school groups, each with a separate and distinct set of aims: 1) "extremely liberal Grundtvigianism", 2) "culturally broadminded Christianity", and 3) "pietistically-coloured orthodoxy". (Kulich, 1964)

In 1875 the government deliberately hampered the progress of the movement by instituting its own rival system of County Residential Schools. The folk high schools were then forced to accept state control the same as the county schools before they would be given state subsidy. The Danish folk high schools, on the other hand, had successfully resisted all attempts at state control and had been able to keep their independence, in spite of rising state subsidies. Furthermore, Christian Youth Schools were established in Norway in the 1890's as competition. This tripartite system was equalized for grant purposes in the 1930's, was given the generic name "folk high schools", and was made an integral part of the Norwegian school system. In 1955 seventy-one schools were in operation with 4050 students; of these seventy-one, only twenty-nine were folk high schools in the original meaning. (Kulich, 1964)

The Norwegian folk high schools today are private, self-governing, boarding institutions offering courses which usually last six to eight months--generally thirty-three weeks during the winter months. (Knowles, Asa, Vol. 7, 1978) There is no set curriculum, and the schools do not confer formal qualifications or exams. Teaching subjects and lines of study vary from school to school, and the students can choose between theoretical, artistic, or practical subjects in design, sports, drama, journalism, music, and home economics.

The Norwegian folk high schools attach great importance to the integration of instruction with the social life of the school. Thus, a great deal of time is devoted to what is termed "social pedagogics". Teachers usually reside at the school and play an active part in assisting and counseling the students and running activity programs. The idea is to establish and encourage free and social intercourse between students and teachers during free time.

Today there are eighty-five folk high schools in Norway with nearly 8000 pupils seventeen years of age or older. ("The Norwegian Education System", 1980) Its future in Norwegian culture is fairly well assured, but its complexion has changed somewhat to fit modern trend in educational thought. Short courses have been introduced in the folk high schools since 1970. The Norwegian Adult Education Act, passed on May 18, 1976, specifically guarantees folk high schools' freedom from government control while assuring financial support through grants:

> • The purpose of adult education is to help the individual to attain a more satisfying life. This act shall contribute to providing adult persons with equal opportunities to acquire knowledge, understanding and skill, which will improve the individuals' sense of value and personal development and strengthen the basis for independent, achievement and co-operation with others in working and social life. . . .
>
> The total subsidy from public funds amounting to 80% of the stipulated cost-factor shall be granted to post-work education programmes and short courses which do not form part of the fundamental education in secondary schools and also to short courses for adults in folk high schools. The remaining part of the expenses may be covered by student fees. . . .
>
> Concerning folk high schools: within the limits of Parliament's annual appropriation of funds the State shall contribute such a part of the total subsidy of 80% as it is obliged to according to the system of apportioning costs applicable to folk high schools. (Dalin, 1980)

The new adult education act went into effect on August 1, 1977. The responsibility for alternative forms of adult education is split between the state school system, i.e., municipalities, counties, and the state, and the various sponsoring organizations for folk high schools. In 1979 the government appropriated Nkr 253 million (approximately $40 million) for adult education. (This includes correspondence schools as well as folk high schools.) ("The Norwegian Education System", 1980)

Adult education through the folk high schools has a long tradition in Norwegian society, like Denmark. The aim of this popular mass-education organization has been

to bridge the gap in education that exists today between the younger age groups and the majority of the population which has no more than seven years' basic education. The same statement could be made of the folk high schools in Sweden.

THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOL IN SWEDEN

The folk high school movement in Sweden deserves second palce to Denmark in its influence and contributions to the concept. Unlike Denmark and Norway, Sweden in the mid-nineteenth century was not involved in a struggle to maintain and preserve the mother tongue of its people and their folk culture. Consequently, there has been no struggle of a people's culture against an academic one. From the beginning the Swedish folk high schools have been influenced by the demand of the farming class for secondary and citizenship education. When the farmers took power in the Second Chamber of Parliament after the Constitutional Reform of 1866, the demand for citizenship education emphasized a strong civic tendency in contrast to the Danish stress on moral and spiritual education. (Kulich, 1964)

The first Swedish folk high school was Hvilan Folk High School, build in 1868. Its guiding philosophy was expressed in one of its first reports:

> The school should be situated in the country, so that the pupils may attend it without being taken from their ordinary mode of life, and may return. . .with enlightened minds to their former occupation. (Canfield, 1965)

The first folk high schools were actually initiated by university personnel, which is different from Denmark, but the philosophy was definitely Grundtvigian. Leonard Holmström was a leading figure in this early movement, much like Kold in Denmark and Brunn in Norway. (Jacobsen, 1980)

By the turn of the century there were twenty-nine folk high schools in Sweden with a total annual enrollment of just over 1000. Denmark, which had a much smaller population, had over 5000 annual enrollemnt by comparison. There are several reasons to explain why rural Sweden did not utilize folk high schools as fully as Denmark. First, the Swedish movement lacked a popular, native philosophy and purpose which might have given the organizers the zeal found in such luminaries as Grundtvig and Kold. Also, the Swedish founders were university men. Second, the population explosion which had more than doubled Sweden's population

during the nineteenth century, the Enclosure Acts, and the use of scientific methods in agricultural production forced people off the farms into urban areas and distant lands. There was no interest in revitalizing the rural peasant life through folk high schools. Third, Sweden suffered no threat to its national security as did Denmark. Thus, the need for social cohesion and a sense of national purpose were absent in the Swedish setting. (Canfield, 1965) Regardless of the lack of participation during this time, the folk high school movement in Sweden had been firmly established.

The twentieth century saw the nation make the slow transition from a rural to an urban society and from an agrarian to an industrial orientation. Many of the folk high schools began to affiliate themselves with some definite movement, such as the revivalist and nonconformist movement, the temperance movement, and the labor movement. (Lundkvist, 1979) This is the legacy which the Swedish folk high schools have left, and it is under these pursuits that the Swedish folk high school movement has grown to over 115 schools today, the largest number of any other country in the world.

In 1906, Karl-Erik Forsslund, a poet of national reputation, established the Bruunsvik Folk High School in a mining district near Lake Väsman. The school was originally set up to expand the intellectual horizons of the young miners. Forsslund, however, had a reputation as a radical and angry young man writing through his poetry for reforms in the status quo. The governing authorities considered him dangerous and refused financial subsidy for his school. Instead of signaling death to the school, Forsslund found that among his admirers were some of the most powerful labor leaders of the time. They sent urgent requests to local unions to send their young men to his school and to support it through scholarships and financial contributions. "The waves of strife rolled high, and thanks to these turbulent waters the school never ran the risk of being hanged in silence and obscurity." (Canfield, 1965) Strong appeals came from university leaders, adult educators, and others for the government to end its censure toward this school. "The state grant came in 1911, but what had taken place made of Bruunsvik an educational stronghold of the labour movement and of the young workers." (Canfield, 1965) (The Labor Movement in Denmark established a folk high school in Esbjerb in 1910, and took over a school at Roskilde, but it is significant that these schools remained largely distinct labor schools, whereas Bruunsvik attracted all classes.) (Kulich, 1964)

In 1912, Rickard Sandler, teacher and principal of

Bruunsvik Folk High School, submitted a plan for a Worker's Educational Association. It was immediately supported by the Cooperative Union, the Federation of Trade Unions, the Social Democratic Party, and other branches of labor. The organization is still in existence today and

> . . .aims at educating its members for the labour movement and the community and making cultural values available to all citizens by means of a free and voluntary, non-denominational educational activity. (Canfield, 1965)

The schools thus were not merely instruments of labor for political propaganda but preserved the folk high school's tradition of free inquiry and liberal education.

Other popular movements soon followed. The Temperance League, the nonconformist religious movement, the cooperative movement, the Farmers' Association, the Professional Workers' Association, and other professional, political, social, and religious organizations all developed folk high schools of their own to educate and to enlighten their followers based generally on the principles of non-indoctrination. It can be said that the strength of the Swedish folk high school movement is best judged by the strength of the organizations behind them. And these sponsoring agencies represent about half of the folk high schools in Sweden. The other half are operated traditionally by communities, municipalities, and provincial governments and have no outside affiliation.

Another development in the Swedish folk high school has been the trend toward specialization. For example, Västkustens Folk High School concentrates on home economics, and Ömmestades Folk High School specializes in problems of Swedish adult education. (Canfield, 1965) Others concentrate on drama, music, textiles, theatre, journalism, handicrafts, athletics, and the like. Some schools provide vocational training, but vocational training is not normally a part of folk high school activities. (Jacobsen, 1980)

Most of the folk high schools in Sweden are residential, though in contrast to Denmark and Norway, only half the students live in, while the remainder commute or live in the vicinity of the school. (Jacobsen, 1980) On the whole, the Swedish folk high school students represent a fair cross-section of the population. The terms of study are comparable to those in the other Nordic countries: thirty-four week long-terms in the winter for both men and women, and summer terms for women. There are a great number

of short-term courses from two days to several weeks. The long-term winter course usually lasts two to three years. As an example of a three year course of study, Bruunsvik Folk High School divides its program into: first year--Swedish language, mathematics, political science, history, and natural science; second year--one section devoted to humanities, and one section relating to natural science. English and German as foreign languages are taught during both the first and second years. In the third and final year, independent research and creative thinking are encouraged. (Canfield, 1965)

The minimum age for admission to the folk high school is sixteen for women and eighteen for men, and the students are treated on par with students holding elementary or upper secondary leaving certificates: six or seven years formal schooling and two years at a folk high school, or eight years schooling and one year at a folk high school is equivalent to primary school competence. Nine years schooling plus two years spent at a folk high school is equivalent to high school competence and entitles a person for admittance to higher academic training, even though there have been no special demands on the curriculum to be the same as for the ordinary schools. (Göthenberg, Svärd, 1977) Nevertheless, many educators intuitively feel that achievement in folk high schools is high, even though there are no examinations administered to substantiate this point. Many American colleges and universities even grant full transfer credit at the junior level for study at folk high schools, and some transfer as many as thirty semester hours for a one-year study abroad. (Canfield, 1965)

Teacher preparation has long been an issue of controversy. In 1970, the Teachers' Training College in Linköping started a special course for teachers working at folk high schools. This special one-year training course admits two types of students:

1) either students with a first university degree (approximately 3 years university studies), or

2) persons having worked at least 5 years as a full-time teacher at a '*folkhögskola*', with a study association, a popular movement, a trade union or the like. It should be noted that this latter group of aspirants does not need to hold any formal qualifications. The aim is to recruit first degree holders to fill two-thirds of the 60 available places, and the

> remaining 20 places will be taken by candidates with a practical background. ("Training of Prospective 'Folk High School' Teachers", 1977)

One-third of the training takes place in the Training College, and the remainder out in *folkhögskola*. The subjects covered are: pedagogics and methodology of one or two of the following subjects--behavioral science, aesthetics, foreign languages, leadership, social sciences, history, Swedish, mathematics, Third World countries, environment, and mentally retarded persons. Periodically special topics are offered in such subjects as popular adult education movements, ordinary methodology of adult education, presentation techniques, imagery, and problems of residential education. Other Nordic countries have learned from Sweden in this respect and have taken a closer look at teacher training in their own countries.

THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOL IN FINLAND

Folk high schools in Finland were established later than those in the other Nordic countries. The first was inaugurated in 1880, but the majority of them have come into existence in the twentieth century. The idea came to Finland from Denmark via Sweden, and the first were patterned after the Danish design. Later the Finnish folk high schools developed their own style and became more vocational than the folk high schools in the other Nordic countries. Training and home economic, for instance, acquired a more prominent position in the Finnish schools, while these vocational training programs were reserved for special agricultural colleges within the regular school systems of the other Nordic countries.

The folk high school movement in Finland traditionally has been divided into two groups: the Finnish group, closely allied to the Danish prototype (long-term courses--moralistically-oriented), and the Swedish-Finnish group, which drew upon Swedish experience (short-term courses--civic-oriented). The impetus for the movement was to preserve the Finnish and Swedish languages.

When Finland was under Swedish rule from 1155 to 1809, the official language was Swedish. In 1809, Finland became a duchy of Russia and remained so until 1917. During that time Swedish remained the official language in spite of increased pressure from Russia to switch to Russian. The mid-nineteenth century brought a national awakening due to the European Romanticism sweeping the continent. The period of nationalism focused attention on the question of a national language. At that time the Finnish language had only existed

in written form in a Bible translation and in some religious books. It was fairly widespread as a spoken language, however. In 1863, a Language Edict assured Finnish equal status with Swedish as an official language, thus offering most of the population greater educational and employment opportunities. Today Finnish is the language for some ninety-five percent of the people while Swedish is recognized as the second national language. (Knowles, Asa, Vol. 4, 1978)

Finland defines the folk high school in traditional terms as

> . . .a boarding school which gives non-vocational education. . .It aims at raising the standard of the students' general education. It attempts to offer students the opportunity to develop all aspects of their personalities, to improve their chances of pursuing further studies, and to educate them as individuals and as citizens. (Kansanopistoylidistys, 1976)

It distinguishes between two types of folk high schools: "the folk high school proper", which continues from the standard of education reached in elementary school; and the "folk academy", which continues from the level of education reached in a folk high school proper. A folk academy can be an independent institution or can be combined with a folk high school. The folk academies have the same tasks as the folk high schools, but their studies are pursued in greater depth and with a greater degree of specialization. Their students also enjoy more independence.

Nearly all schools have winter courses lasting about thirty weeks, as in other countries. They can also arrange short-term courses running as short as five days. Most folk high schools and folk academies are residential, but non-residential short courses are becoming increasingly popular. The folk high school programs usually run a year in length, while the folk academy programs generally run two years.

The folk high school system traditionally has been included in the context of free and voluntary popular education outside the scope of the formal school system. This is true today, but there is one element which makes Finnish folk high schools difference from the folk high schools of other Scandinavian countries. In 1974 the supervisory authority drew up directions for the adjustment of folk high schools proper to the Finnish elementary school system and the folk academies to the upper secondary school

system. This means that the folk high schools proper and the folk academies are free to adopt the program confering formal qualifications and geared to a common curriculum, leading to an elementary school or an upper secondary school graduation certificate, respectively. Not all folk high schools or folk academies elect to aline with the formal school system. Most remain independent, but they have the option. Therefore, the folk high schools in Finland are more closely related to the formal school system than the folk high schools in the other Scandinavian countires. (Jacobsen, 1980)

Although the folk high schools are generally private, they are sponsored financially by the state, as in other Nordic countries. According to the law, each folk high school receives from the state ninety percent of teachers' salaries and seventy percent of certain other approved expenses. This averages about fifty-eight percent of the total schools' expenses furnished by state subsidy. The owner or founder of the school must provide the remainder of the cost.

Additionally, the folk high schools are subject to control and inspection by the national board of schools and the local school authorities. The curriculum must be approved, as in other countries, by the school authorities. The national school authorities also audit the accounts and inspect the expenditures of the state subsidy.

Students must pay tuition, room, and board if the school is residential. The 1981-82 cost figures for a student's attending a long-term course of thirty weeks is 165 Fmks ($35) per week for a total cost of 4950 Fmks ($1100) a term. The fee for a short course varies in different schools but is approximately 400 Fmks ($87) per week. State grants are available to students if attending a course of at least four weeks in length. The grant can cover from twenty to seventy percent of the total cost. In addition, there are student loans available at low interest rates.

There are presently 6500 students a year who study long-term courses, and about 25,000 a year who participate in short-term courses. They attend the eighty-nine folk high schools and folk academies which are operating in Finland today (as of August 1, 1981). (Kansanopistoyhdistys, 1976, updated, 1981)

	Finnish Speaking	Swedish Speaking	Total
Folk Academies	11	3	14
Folk High Schools Proper	40	14	54
Combined	20	1	21
			89

Finland has recognized the importance of adult education to the progress of its society, both historically and in modern times. In 1971, it formed the Adult Education Committee to study the possibility of unifying the adult education system as a whole. The committee defined four basic goals for adult education policies: (Sandelin, 1980)

1) increasing the equality of educational opportunities,

2) promoting production developing vocational skills,

3) promoting democracy--developing skills and abilities in dealing with questions of society, and

4) developing culture--developing personality.

The Committee then divided the field of adult education into four main task areas according to practical schooling tasks:

1) filling in gaps in basic general education,

2) vocational training of adults,

3) social general education, and

4) education in leisure-time activities.

The Finnish government on June 7, 1978, made a decision of principle concerning the planning and development of adult education in Finland. This statement began with the requirement that in developing adult education and joining it to other forms of education the following principles should be observed:

1) The system of education will be developed, on the basis of the principle of life long education, as a whole.

2) The adult education system has to offer each citizen the right and the possibility of the continuous, many-sided development of his/her personality.

3) Planning shall especially emphasize increasing equality in education.

4) The development of all the task areas of adult education will be continued.

> Primary emphasis will be given to the development of vocational adult education.

Whether adult education in Finland remains splintered between formal and independent forms, or whether folk high schools are challenged by competitive institutions, the influence the folk high school philosophy has had on bringing lifelong learning and adult education to the attention of the people and lawmakers is commendable. Like the other Nordic countries, the folk high school has been so successful that each country is attempting to clarify the definition of adult education, explain its relationship to the state, and guarantee its position in the overall educational structure. Far from imposing new restrictions on the folk high schools and forms of adult education, recent legislation and dialog aim at reducing old restrictions to a minimum. (Leander, 1977)

THE IMPACT OF THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOL

The folk high school in Scandinavia has become an integral part of the cultural, social, and economic life of the Nordic people. The map on page 32 shows how widespread the schools are today throughout these four countries. Collectively these folk high schools and folk academies enroll about 250,000 young adults annually. Even though this represents only one or two percent of the entire population of these countries, this figure constitutes a large proportion of the represented age group seventeen to thirty. The national annual participation figures for the year 1979-80 are:

Denmark	35-40,000
Norway	8,000 (no short-terms)
Finland	30-35,000
Sweden	about 150,000 (includes 135,000 short-term students)

Of these numbers, approximately 40,000 persons attend long-terms of fourteen to sixteen weeks or thirty to thirty-four weeks. The bulk of the students, however, attend short-term courses. (Jacobsen, 1980)

As discussed, the folk high schools among the Nordic countries have many similarities:

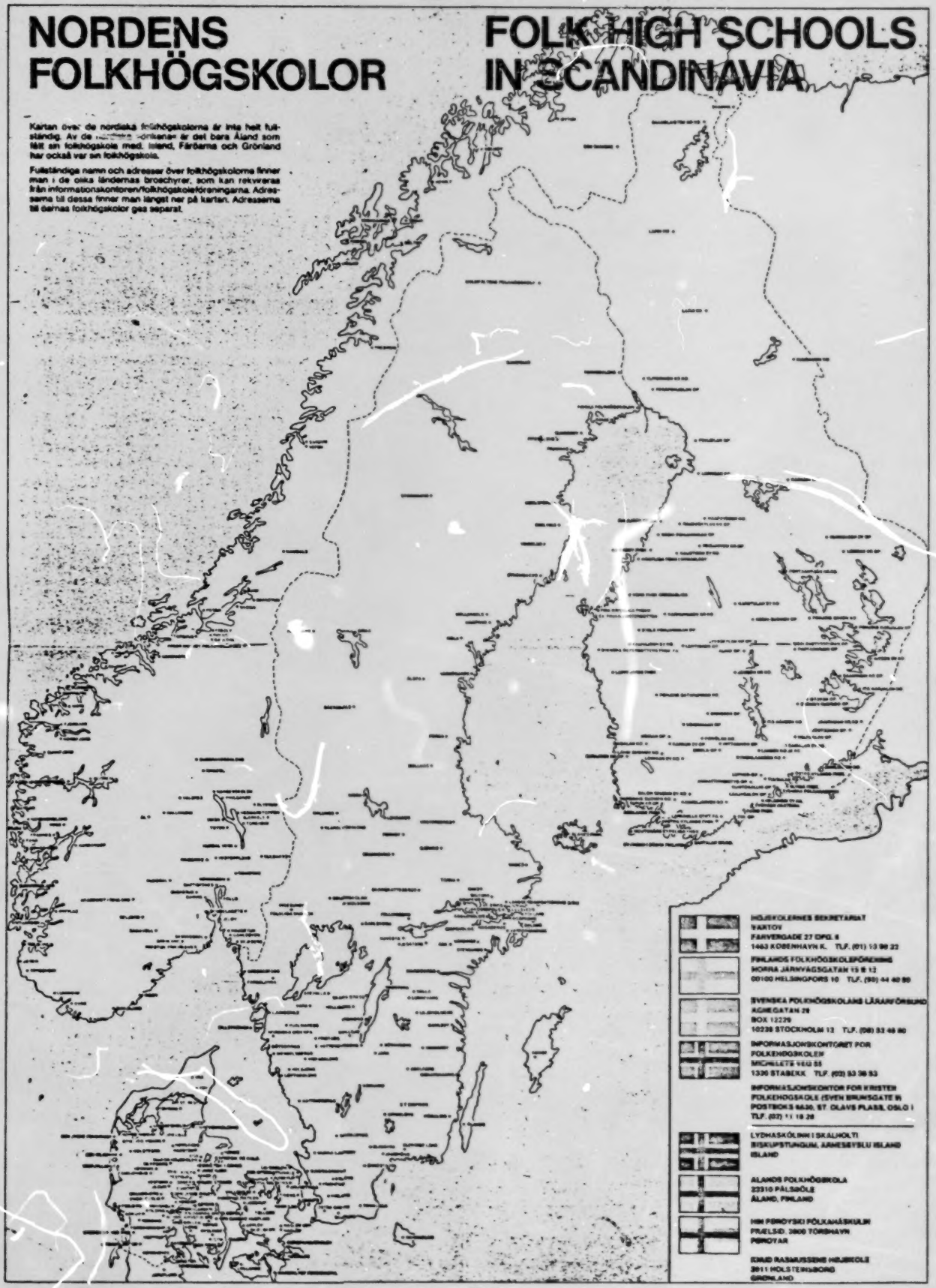
> they appeal to young adults;
> they offer an alternative to formal, traditional education;
> they have no set curriculum;

NORDENS FOLKHÖGSKOLOR

FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS IN SCANDINAVIA

Kartan över de nordiska folkhögskolorna är inte helt fullständig. Av de [illegible]-områdena är det bara Åland som fått sin folkhögskola med. Island, Färöarna och Grönland har också var sin folkhögskola.

Fullständiga namn och adresser över folkhögskolorna finner man i de olika ländernas broschyrer, som kan rekvireras från informationskontoren/folkhögskoleföreningarna. Adressema till dessa finner man längst ner på karten. Adresserna till dernas folkhögskolor ges separat.



they have no set teaching techniques but rely on lectures, study circles, oral presentations, and individual research;
they administer no examinations or grades;
they adhere to principles of residential communal living;
they are small and intimate;
they are fiercely independent but accept financial aid from the state;
they all share the common philosophy that education should be functional;
they emphasize general education in order to make better citizens of all persons.

There are specific differences, however. Danish folk high schools are:

basically rural to meet the needs of that society,
founded by individuals or community initiative,
largely non-specialized,
stressing general education,
strongly religious and moral in overtone.
(Canfield, 1965)

Swedish folk high schools are:

established for a more balanced industrialized society rather than a rural one,
sponsored by large national movements which tend to give them permanency,
more civic-oriented rather than moralistic,
more specialized in response to the diverse problems of a technological age.

The folk high schools in Norway are similar to those in Denmark except they have just recently begun offering short-term courses. Finland has borrowed from both Denmark and Sweden in establishing their folk high schools. It is the only one of the Nordic countries which preserves two languages, Finnish and Swedish. It is also the only country in Scandinavia which allows its folk high schools to be integrated into the regular school system (on a volunteer basis) and to award state certificates.

In each case, the folk high school of a country has concentrated on the internal issues, problems, social, and economic elements within that country. Its aim has been to instill national pride while preserving its language and culture. Theses traits are desirable to other nations, too.

After the turn of the century, and especially between World Wars I and II, the folk high schools became increasingly known throughout the world. Many educators and social reformers came to Denmark and Sweden to study the dream of Grundtvig which had become reality. As a consequence, attempts have been made to transplant the schools outside Scandinavia.

In England and Scotland, the interest in the Danish folk high school was fairly strong. In 1903, George Cadbury founded the Quaker Wookbrook College. In 1909, the Fircroft College, to which Tom Bryant devoted his life as Warden, was established. Wales established its Coleg Harlech, and Scotland turned Newbattle Abbey into a residential college in 1937. After World War II, there were about ten adult residential colleges in England, some of them directly influenced by the Danish folk high school. Many of the English residential schools adopted a short-term course of a week, fortnight, month, or just a few days. Sir Richard Livingston was a major figure in this development.

In continental Europe between the two world wars, numerous attempts were made to transplant the Danish idea. The most successful of these, outside of Scandinavia, was in Poland, where ten folk high schools were established during the early 1930's and were very active until the German invasion destroyed them in 1939. The schools have been reestablished since the war and seem to carry on the old tradition. (Kulich, 1964) Austria, Bulgaria, Estonia, Germany, and Hungary were interested in starting a movement in the 1920's and 1930's, but the political climate was not right. Post-war conditions have been more favorable, and a variety of folk high schools have sprung up in Austria, the Netherlands, and the Federal Republic of Germany, called the *Heimvolkshochschulen.* In Switzerland, in spite of the energetic efforts of Dr. Fritz Wartenweiler, the folk high school idea remains the fancy of a handful of people.

In North America, the movement spread first with Danish immigrants. A number of folk high schools were formed at the end of the nineteenth century, among these Elk Horn in Iowa (1878), Nystad in Nebraska, and Danebod in Minnesota. These three schools have changed considerably with the passing of later Danish generations and can hardly be called folk high schools today. There were some people, however, that were interested in the concept and who were not Danish immigrants. Among these were: Mrs. Olive C. Campbell, who founded the John C. Campbell Folk High School near Brasstown, North Carolina; and a present-day spokesman for the movement, Dr. Royce Pitkin, President of Goddard

College, Vermont. Other folk high schools in the United States historically have included: Highlander Folk High School, Monteagel, Tennessee; the Penland School of Handicrafts, Penland, North Carolina; Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania; the Aspen Institute of Humanistic Studies, Aspen, Colorado; the Cold Spring Institute (for the aged), Cold Spring-on-the-Hudson, New York; and the Clearing, Ellison Bay, Wisconsin. (Knowles, Malcolm, 1977)

In Canada only one Danish folk high school was established by the original Danish immigrants, Dalum in Alberta. After the war, however, the movement developed rapidly: Camp Laquemac in Quebec, the Fairbanks House in Ontario, the Banff School of Fine Arts in Alberta, and the Human Relations Institute at Fort Qu'Appelle in Saskatchewan. British Columbia has only one residential center: the Naramata Camp operated by the United Church. (Kulich, 1964)

In Asia and Africa, residential schools influenced by the Danish folk high school idea have been successfully established in several places, often with the direct assistance of Sweden and/or Denmark. In the late 1920's, two or three folk high schools were established in Japan. They were interrupted by the political events of World War II but have since returned to operation. In Africa there is Awudome College at Tsito in Ghana, the Kivukoni College in Tanganyika, and "Karen House" for women being established by Swedish cooperation in Kenya. The spread of the folk high school in Africa must be attributed in part to the untiring efforts of Poul Bertelsen, formerly of Awudome College and now in Tanganyika. In 1962 a new organization for educational help to the developing countries was established in Denmark by the representative organizations of the folk high schools and of the alumni of the folk high school. It is in the developing countries of Asia and Africa that the Danish folk high school concept could be of great benefit. One such example is in the State of Mysore in India where eight *Vidyapeeths* have recently been established.

THE FUTURE OF THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOL

Experience abroad seems to point out that in the developing countries especially, with their largely agricultural population and with a similar struggle for the maintenance of native tongue and culture as that of Denmark over one humdred years ago, the Danish folk high school model could be adapted with less modifications and with more success than in the highly industrialized societies of Western Europe and North America. The pattern is already evident by the present spread of the movement on such a large world scale.

It is not, however, only the developing and primarily agricultural countries that can benefit from the folk high school idea. The western industrialized nations have an equal need if not a greater one, for the development of residential adult education. At no other time in the history of mankind has there been a greater need for truly liberal education for adults. Never before has the threat of nuclear annihilation, depersonalization, and breakdown of communications through excessive specialization been so great as in the present technological age. And never before has the threat against human values and cultures been so great as a result of this technology than today. In the age of the computer, dwindling fuel supplies, and questioning values, society needs liberal education in order to make sense out of the changes which man often finds a threat instead of a blessing.

Inspired by the Danish model and success, each society will have to find its own approach to liberal education suited to its own needs, institutions, and circumstances. One of the basic values of education is that it does not arrest progress, but rather fosters a concept of continuous, lifelong search and development of human potential. This is one of the greatest legacies of the folk high school. Residential adult education must also be guided by this concept if it is to be important in the social, political, economic, and spiritual development of mankind.

The strength of the folk high schools today and in the future will depend upon how well they can continue to reflect the need and adapt to changes within society. As the world becomes smaller, better educated, and more homogeneus, the folk high schools will find themselves turning more to a discusssion of the problems common to a broader scope of the world's people.

In 1921, Dr. Peter Manniche founded the International People's College at Elsinore, Denmark, an international folk high school dedicated "to a greater understanding between the peoples of the world and, therefore, to cooperation and peace." ("International People's College, 1979) It is a residential center for about eighty adults from all over the world who can "examine their values and convictions in an unstressed educational environment and, therefore, return to their normal occupations with new energy and purpose".

In 1968 the governments of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden through the Nordic Cultural Cooperation in Copenhagen, founded the *Nordens Folkliga Akademi* at Kungälv, Sweden. Its purpose is to provide a meeting

place for teachers and leaders of Scandinavian folk high schools and adult education organizations, librarians, journalists, and others interested in research and development projects in the field of adult education in the Nordic countries. This folk high school has recognized that the issues of one Scandinavian country can apply to the others. ("Nordens Folkliga Akademi, Kungälv", 1979)

The interest in international issues has not been limited to folk high school teachers and policy makers. It has filtered down to the young students as well. Two examples of folk high schools for young people interested in international cooperation and dialog are Visingsö and Tvind.

The Visingsö Folk High School, situated on the island of Visingsö in Sweden, has established extension folk high schools in Brighton, England, Aix-en-Provence, France, and Munich, West Germany, in order "to develop an international commitment and understanding through the teaching of languages and the subjects taught through these langauges". (Berglund, 1979) The students spend fifteen weeks at Visingsö during the fall, then have the opportunity to study the next term in one of the schools abroad. This way they can be totally emersed in the environment of the language.

Another example of a folk high school which emphasizes international education is the Travelling Folk High School in Tvind, Denmark. As its name implies, its major objective is a study tour. The average course for students seventeen and a half years old covers nine to seventeen months and consists of the following typical structure:

1) Two months of preparatory work which includes making studies of the areas to be visited and getting transport ready, for example, by reconditioning coaches;

2) A four month study tour which is usually by coach to an area in Asia or Africa. The same combination of theory and practice which is used in the folk-school applies. Students, male and female, recondition coaches and learn about internal combustion engines, transmissions, brakes, lighting. There is no sex stereotyping: girls will be found wearing blue overalls and overhauling the brakes or working on the engine just as often as the men. During the tour the students study the geography, history and social conditions

of the countries they visit. The emphasis is on direct contact with the inhabitants of the area visited.

3) Three months selecting and developing themes and projects arising from the study tour. Students have produced books, films, plays and exhibitions about the countries they have visited and given talks to thousands about their experiences. Studies of economic and political questions are extended to Denmark. At the end of this period some students leave the course and others continue for a further eight months.

4) Five months of occupational employment when students work in various jobs and learn as much as they can about other forms of employment. They take part in study circles, discussing such matters as working conditions and systems of payment.

5) Three months of further studies and an exploration of social questions. During this period students draw on their experiences abroad and in Denmark to study education, politics, economics and current affairs. (Birchenough, 1979)

The trip is financed half by the state subsidy and half by raising money and fees by the students. The success of this school has been not only in touching a small part of a foreign culture and people but also in the ability to allow students to develop socially, emotionally, and intellectually with a sense of being able to solve any problem which might arise in their lives.

There are other examples of individual schools or organizations branching out into the realm of international concern and cooperation through the mode of the folk high school and folk academy. The parameters of interest continue to enlarge beyond the limits of just one country or a group of counties to encompass the shared problems and issues of all mankind. This aspect of the folk high school and its international concern has become such an important outgrowth of the original folk high school concept--that of improving the conditions of the common man--that sixteen conferences and a seminar

have been held over a twenty-seven year period (1951-1978) to encourage the interest in this international folk high school cooperation. It is through the work of Bob Schouten and the Dutch Folk High School Association that these meetings have been so successful.

In 1951 the Dutch Folk High School Association established a special secretariat to promote and develop "European folk high school work". (The word "International" has since replaced the term "European" out of necessity due to the popularity of its work and its eventual broadening of scope.) When the European Bureau of Adult Education was set up in 1953, the Dutch Association allowed it to use its building and secretariat as headquarters for this prestigious group. Without this help and the financial support of the Dutch government, adult residential education might not have the forum it enjoys today.

One of the most recent conferences on residential adult education and folk high school cooperation was held in Kungälv, Sweden, in August 1978. There were eighty participants from twelve countries, and the conference was sponsored by the joint cooperation of the Nordic Folk Academy/ Folk High School/Folk High School Council, the European Association of Residential Adult Education Establishments, The Swedish Union of Folk High School Teachers, the European Bureau of Adult Education, and the Swedish National Board of Education. One of the major statements which came out of this conference was the collective resolution on the importance of residence in international education:

> The right kind of international encounter, exchange, study tour should be a profoundly educational experience, giving real contact between person and person, widening and deepening the understanding of each others different ways of living and thinking yet of our mutual interdependence, breaking down prejudices and misconceptions, and giving opportunities to test and share and exchange ideas and experience. One of the best catalysts to enable all this to take place is the opportunity of living side by side; folk high schools and residential colleges of adult education have the additional resource of residence. (Smith, 1979)

The conference was successful, and even by November 1978, there were developments in international cooperation: a French group wishing to make a three-week comparative study tour in a Danish, a Swedish, and a Norwegian folk

high school; a tutor seeking help in seeing a range of adult education provisions in Britain; leaders from the Travelling High School wanting to visit Eerbeek to explain how the Travelling Folk High School works; a Swedish folk high school wanting, if possible, an exchange visit with a college; a second folk high school hoping to split a large visiting group into four smaller groups (of approximately fifteen students) each based in a different college in different areas for comparative study; a third folk high school wanting to split into groups of two or three so that they could participate in open courses at several colleges with the opportunity to practice English. A Dutch University of Agriculture wanted to set up a course in Denmark to study rural life. And a Swedish group wanted to "follow the steps of the Vikings in the Normandy of today". (Smith, 1979)

Residential adult education, with its unique social and spiritual powers, will have an important role to play in shaping the future of mankind and the understanding among one another. Whether a country chooses to concentrate on the concerns of her own people, culture, and language, or whether she joins the discussion of worldwide issues for which she has a concern, the Danish model of the folk high school with its far-reaching consequences indicates how successfully a segment of society can be transformed. It can serve both as an inspiration and as a prototype for adaptation to local needs and circumstance.

CONCLUSION

Adult education throughout the world owes a great deal to N.S.F. Grundtvig and his championing the worth of the common man in the mid-nineteenth century in Denmark. The folk high school movement began in a period of crisis and change, national peril, and poverty. It was a part of a popular revival which changed reality. Originally conceived as a school for counter culture--at the time against the rigid classical system of education and elite dominance--the folk high school has gradually been recognized as a major factor in the education of peoples throughout the world.

In the 1980's, adult education is in an important position to influence the future of mankind. World communities are faced with new challenges which man must come to terms with: environmental activities, anti-nuclear questions, women's liberation groups, and the like. Each new solution to a problem brings new issues to be discussed.

Many folk high schools presently consider themselves being mobilized to counter the threats of passivity,

consumerism, and central control and dominance of ideas. The format of the folk high school gives the students the opportunity to get away from the time consuming tasks of society and reflect on the issues of life. The folk high school is an instrument of change, and it can be used by the ordinary people with the assumption that "man is not a manipulated monkey, but a divine experiment of spirit and dust".

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